1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Games.—Of numerous games, the most important is a formal wrestling match which is an indispensable part of most religious ceremonies and of all intervillage visits.

Narcotics and stimulants.—Like the other tribes in this region, the *Carajá* have no alcoholic beverages. They smoke tobacco in short cylindrical pipes (fig. 21, *c*). They are heavy smokers, some of the children beginning before they are weaned.

SUPERNATURALISM

Cults.—*Carajá* religion consists of two distinct cults: a cult of the dead and a mask cult (fig. 24). The cult of the dead, which is under the direction of the priest, has for its object the placation of ghosts by a periodical ceremonial which comes to its climax in several large calendrical feasts. The most important of these feasts is the Big House Feast, which is celebrated shortly after the beginning of the rainy season. All the villages which comprise a ceremonial unit come to the one village where the feast is conducted. There is a great mass of ceremonial addressed to various classes of ghosts, but the central portion of the ceremony is the impersonation of animal ghosts. Another important feast, already mentioned, occurs at the height of the dry season and is directed toward the control of enemy ghosts. Two other feasts held in the dry season are chiefly for the entertainment of the ancestors.

The mask cult is concerned with the worship of another class of supernaturals. It consists of an elaborate routine of feasts, interrupted only by death. In these feasts, conducted by the shaman, the supernaturals are impersonated in the complex dances mentioned above.

The two cults are independent of each other and are both strictly men's cults. Any women intruding upon the secrets of the cults is subjected to gang rape and remains a wanton thereafter.

Shamanism.—A shaman is trained by apprenticeship to an older shaman. A certain amount of medical lore is taught but the essence of the training is learning how to communicate with supernaturals in a state of trance.

There is a considerable amount of sorcery. The main technique is bottling a supernatural being into a small image and then directing it into the body of the victim. As almost all deaths are interpreted as the result of sorcery, feuding is continual.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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/32 cont./

754 Since every sickness is considered the work of hostile sorcerers
755 or demons, they rely more on the counter magic of their own "medicine man" who removes the poison by sucking on the ailing part of the body or scares off the evil spirits by means of the magic rattle.

757 One of the most popular medicines of the Karaya is the resin of the almecega (Hedwigia balsamifera), which, stirred in with coconut oil, is used as a smelling essence for headaches and externally for abdominal pain (andžiura).

752 The savages have more knowledge of surgery. They know how to let blood out of the forehead vein, to stop bleeding by applying a tourniquet to the wounded limb, quite rationally sprinkle powdered charcoal on wounds, put splints on broken limbs, and develop great skill in removing thorns with sharp fish-teeth.

757 The custom of emptying the stomach in the morning by artificially induced vomiting, known in North America and Ecuador, is also found here. It is done with charred pieces of taquara (idžiua), which are introduced into the throat until the effect is achieved.

304 824 237 751 The most important medical instrument is the scarification apparatus (i-šaura). It consists of a little triangular or rectangular piece of gourd, one surface of which is weighted with a layer of wax or resin one centimeter thick, while the other bears a row of small sharp fish-teeth (Fig. 17).

Fig. 17. Scarification instrument (1/2).

304 757 These scarifiers are stored in pairs, the convex scratching surface of the one resting on the concave one of the other. The small teeth are protected by stuffing cotton between them.

/33 cont./

789 with incredible volubility, and finally made thrusts with grim
791 gestures in the four directions, shouting: bobuto! disperse! It is therefore exactly the same procedure that Boas observed among the Central Eskimos (2). If the rain comes down in spite of this,

2. Petermann's Mitth., 1887, p. 309.

the conjurer chews up a root and spits the pieces into the air, naturally only when the storm is nearing its end.

•754 If the sorcerer wishes to harm an absent person, he uses a small bow (šibate) to shoot an arrow with two snake teeth at the tip in the direction where he suspects that his victim is. The latter is then overcome by an incurable sickness.

Animism. Masked Dances.

791 Although so few details about the religious beliefs of the Karaya are known, it can already be determined that the animistic world-view, as the lowest form of religious life, manifests itself among them in exactly the same way as among other better studied South American tribes.

For them, too, the phenomena of half-life in sleep, the extinguishing of all vital activity in death, and dreams and visions are proof of the presence of a spirit world separate from the material substratum, in which every individual, human as well as animal, who, according to Indian belief, differ from each other only in their physical form, has its immaterial phantom.

754 They know from experience that in dreams the spirit leaves
828 the body of the sleeper to wander about and to meet other persons or
[794] spirits; they know further, even if it is only through suggestive influencing, that the witch doctors, gifted with higher powers, can at will put themselves in a sleeping state, in which their souls fathom secret matters, enter into animals in order to frighten and to injure enemies as "werewolves," and, in short, do all those things by means of which shamanism everywhere knows how to secure its influence in uniformly recurring fashion.

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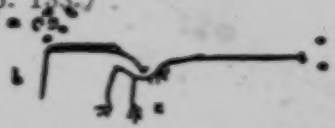
[821]

/Ills. 13 and 14 appear on p. 153./

Ill. 13. Sketchbook drawing: moon with mountains (toad).



Ill. 14. Sketchbook drawing: a) Pleiades (parakeets); b) the jaguar leaps c), on the ostrich (χ and β Centauri).

Ill. 15. Clay doll: caricature of the old grandmother. Karajá. /Ill. 15 appears on p. 155./

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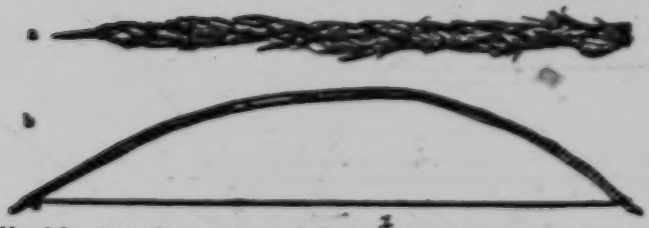

Ill. 16. Magic arrow with bow. $\frac{1}{n}$ Karajá.
/Ill. 16 appears on p. 156./

$\frac{1}{n}$ [See description of use on p. 283--Analyst]

/333 cont./

789 hĕtjiwắ. Two small cane rods are tied together, on the front end, feathers are glued onto a layer of wax. The rods are cut off; their actual length is approximately one meter (Ill. 182a). People shake such instruments toward the clouds in order to drive away rain.

A second apparatus consists of two switches about 50 centimeters long, which are tied together (Ill. 182b). The thick, black switch is called kŏ̃ólũ̃nĭ̂; the thin, light one,

Ill. 182 a, b.
Rain magic.
a) 2 cane rods (cut off),
b) 2 switches.

Ill. 183 a, b.
Eye magic (a) with brush (b).

Ill. 184 a-c.
Fever magic (a) with constituent parts (b, c).

[754]

nõ̃hõ̃dã̃mŭdắ. With the two, one beats upward against the clouds.

hŭlã̃lãhĕdŏ̆ (kŏwõ̃lŭ̆) consists of a simple switch. Its use is said to be familiar to only a few initiates. Kurišĭ demonstrated the apparatus to me when rain threatened sitting in the boat, he silently beat with it horizontally downstream, as though he wanted to drive the rain clouds there.

/333 cont./

789 In order to be able to see at night, one paints on the eyelids with the brush (Ill. 183b) /334/ some of the substance obtained from the jequitiba fruit (Ill. 183a).

751 As a protection against arrow shots one glues, by means of wax, a scraped bowstring as disks approximately ten centimeters in diameter onto both breasts.

754 In order to induce fever in others, one rubs together in one's hands some of the substance in the little bag (Ill. 184a) and rubs it into the hair of the opponent during a dispute. One protects oneself by washing it off the hands. The constituent parts out of which the substance is made are shown in Ill. 184 b,c; they are, first, a bundle of brown fibers and then a yellowish dried shell, both of which are ground and mixed with charcoal. They did not want to tell me the name for this magic remedy, just as they were generally afraid to let me have these things, since I could, of course, have used them against the seller himself. I had to pack them away immediately before their eyes; otherwise they could not be obtained.

There are various means for killing another person. /Ills. 185 and 186 appear here./ A monkey penis is plaited out of bast (nõõ krãðbẽ, Ill. 185 a,b) and secretly planted on the enemy, who must then die.

The magic arrow (bõlõhẽ) consists of a wooden rod 21 centimeters long and surrounded with a layer of wax, which is completely covered with little red feathers. The point is formed by a bone splinter. Actually, the arrow should consist of gibate cane and the point of a ray spine. Apparently the Indians altered the instrument so that I could not do any mischief with it. With a small bow the arrow is shot at passersby; the person in whose direction the arrow comes to rest must die (Ill. 16 a,b). There is no antidote against this magic.

The electric eel (kũðlũnĩ, hẽtjĩwã) consists of a mixture of pounded bones of the electric eel, charcoal, and wax, which is put in fish form and little red feathers are glued over it. Two mother-of-pearl disks serve as the eyes; a white cotton ring adorns the neck (Ill. 186a). One holds the /335/ rear end of the electric

/335 cont./

754 eel with the right hand against the index finger of the left and thus aims at the passerby. He must die if he does not immediately
755 have himself treated by the doctor. The doctor sucks the leg of the bewitched one, beats him on the back, chest, arms, and legs with a switch, and in this way draws the magic out of the body. He himself then rolls around on the ground, spits, etc., in order, for his part, to get rid of the magic. The electric eel is stored in two palm-leaf husks (Ill. 186 b,c).

The use of charcoal as the carrier of the magical remedy is striking.

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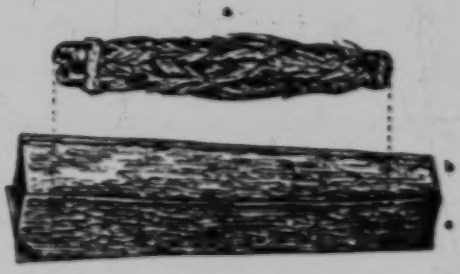
Ill. 185 a, b.
Monkey penis. b) Back side of the glans in a).



Ill. 186 a-c.
Electric eel with protective sheath.

75 Medicine. All illnesses are regarded as originating from the evil magic of others. As a result, witch doctors, whose task is to
757 apply countermagic, play an important role. In addition, however, a great many medicinal plants are used, some of which are supposed to be infallible. I succeeded in obtaining a number of such plants, together with information about their use.

755 The doctors (kólù, kâùdŭwādu; according to Ehrenreich,
757 kahŏtĕbādo) carry on their practice by means of magical performances, singing, swinging rattles, sucking out the morbific agent, massaging, beating with switches which have electric-eel bones attached at the

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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[157] [413] [237] comb with very long, sharp teeth. With this barbarous tool, the primitive surgeon rakes and tears the back of the patient, who holds himself immovable by firmly grasping a post or tree. The blood is caught and removed on palm-leaves. When sufficient blood has been drawn, sand, and finally pepper, is rubbed into the wounds. Even when a Karayá is not sick, he submits to this very painful operation, believing that it will be beneficial to his health. The bleeding of persons on the back is practiced by low-class civilized Brazilians.

[771] Not much is known concerning the religious belief of the Karayá. But it is fully established that they entertain an animistic conception of the world, which is the lowest form of religious belief and practice; and it expresses itself with them in the same way that it does with the better known South [811] American tribes. Their observation hourly suggests to them the idea that every effect has an intelligent cause; for, whenever they are able to trace an effect to its cause, as, for instance, in the doings of men and animals, that cause appears to be psychical rather than material; an intangible, incomprehensible something that we call Mind. Therefore, they firmly believe that Minds, intelligence, or invisible, immaterial Personalities, dwell, as an Ego, or as Genii, in every material object, animate or inanimate, such as animals, trees and mountains, and direct all the operations of Nature; and that brutes are differentiated from men only by their bodily form, every creature being like a duality—having a psychical as well as a physical Self. Moreover, the phenomena of the half-[773] life in sleep, together with dreams and visions, and the cessation of all vital activties at death, furnish to their minds clear and positive proofs of the existence of a spirit world that pervades, or lies beyond the world comprehended by the senses. They believe that in sleep and dreams, the Ego, or [774] Shade, or second Self, steals away from the body of the sleeper to roam about and to associate with other shadowy personalities or spirits. They are convinced, furthermore, that their [754] priests, or conjurers, are endowed with some supernatural, or mysterious powers which enable them to put themselves

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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at will into a trance or semi-death, in which state their souls, or doubles, explore the occult, or what is hidden from men in a normal state. They also believe that these conjurers can transform themselves at pleasure into animals—into the form of a witch-wolf, for example, in order to terrify, injure and domineer over men; and, in brief, can do all things whereby shamanism—primitive priestcraft—secures and maintains its influence over the tribe. They have no images or idols, nor even fetiches, for the reason that they have not yet advanced to this more complex belief, if advancement it may be called.

The ghosts or spirits of the dead, which, as previously stated, are believed to tarry for a time in the vicinity of the graves where hang the bodies they were forced to abandon because they had fallen so into disrepair, take delight, in after time, in returning to haunt the places of their habitation during the days of their flesh; moreover, it is believed that they appear to their relatives, especially on wild and stormy nights: When the darkness is inky black, illumined only by the ceaseless play of the terrifying lightnings, and the thunders crash and boom as if the unseen Powers were engaged in mighty conflict, while the winds moan and shriek in the forest, then the old folk think of their dear departed; and by loud lamentations and wailings, put themselves into a state of ecstacy whereby their inflamed imagination creates every wished-for phantasm.

This animistic religion is without any ethical foundation. It has not in this stage attained to a conception of a higher or ruling Spirit upon whom man feels himself dependent for rewards and punishments for his deeds; and as just stated, lacks everything which connects man externally with divinity, such as images, the paraphernalia of worship, ritual, and the like. But we find among the Karayá those ceremonials from which apparently everywhere throughout the world the higher and more elaborate forms of worship have come, that is, the mystery rites.

Mask dances occupy an important place in Karayá life. The prominent rôle which these masquerades play among

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
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among the last. He got stuck in the hole. His belly was too big. He decided to go back. It was a dead leaf that he spied. He spoke to his wife, 'Let's go back. There is death there.' They went back again. Those that had come out were very happy. They were all happy. Then one of them climbed a tree. It was a child that climbed. He fell and died. They all mourned. Suddenly they got cheerful again. For this reason they were angry, his mother and father. His brother and sister, married to each other, were angry. For this reason there was keening. They say that there in the depths of the water there was no death."

In addition to being the original home of the Carajá, the underworld is also the home of the dead. Those who die a quiet death and are properly buried live there much in the same fashion as they lived on earth. But they are always a bit crazed and dangerous to the living. They must be placated by offerings and ceremonial observances. Otherwise they assume the form of poisonous snakes and bite those who neglect them. Those who die a violent death, who are clubbed or torn by beasts, become violent unappeasable ghosts. They are buried in the woods without arms or fire, in a position contrary to the traditional position in order to disorient them. A woman's girdle is tied about their eyes to blind them. Their desire is to kill, and especially to kill their closest kin. Their afterlife is extremely unpleasant. They wander about in a perpetual rage and feed on little birds which they eat raw.

The other dimension of the Carajá universe is the sky. Only the southeastern quadrant of the sky interests the Carajá. The rest is uninhabited forest. Starting at the Southern Cross virtually every star and constellation visible in the east is a named supernatural. The Milky Way is the shaman's road. When the shaman falls into his trance he goes up the shaman's road into one of the villages of the sky supernaturals. There he receives his power and knowledge and, if he has not eaten or drunk, thereafter is a curer. If he has, he becomes a sorcerer and killer. The good shaman after his death goes to live in the sky. He squats up there in the heat of the sun with his inexhaustible pot of food and gourd of water in front of him and his shamanistic rattle in his hand, held up to shade his eyes from the glare of the sun. At night he dances with the supernaturals. This is considered the happiest afterlife.

The earth and underworld are also inhabited by supernaturals. Every pool, every deep spot in the river, every bit of forest or savannah, has its supernatural owners. These are of two kinds. Many are amiable and beautiful beings who have friendly relations with humans. They are invited to feasts and impersonated in the masked dances. The others are ugly and dangerous monsters who cannot be placated. Their woods are avoided and nobody fishes in their pools.

The sorcerer has a wide variety of techniques at his disposal. He may

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
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request a ghost to do his killing. In this case the ghost takes the form of a wild beast, usually a leopard. He may request a supernatural either to enter the body of his victim, or to turn loose on the victim his subject animals, particularly the alligator and piranha. The curing shaman sucks out the intrusive supernatural or persuades the ghosts or supernaturals to withhold their attack.

The dichotomy of ghosts and supernaturals is quite clear in Carajá religion. Ghosts are placated by calendrical feasts, run by a hereditary priest. Supernaturals are invited to the masked dances by a shaman who takes complete charge of this cult. There is little relationship between the two cults. There is a momentary appearance of masks during the Big-house Feast of the ghost cult, and an occasional offering to ancestors during the mask cult ceremonies.

What is of special interest is that there are many maleficent supernaturals who cannot be approached at all. There is no technique for handling them except keeping out of their way. The violent ghosts really fall in the same category as far as their relation to humans is concerned. And yet they are chiefly the best men of the Carajá who have fallen in battle against their enemies. In this curious bit of fantasy there seems to be a projection of the fear and aggression which are overtly present in the social life.

In recent years a few Carajá have been able to visit Rio and Belém. They have brought back a somewhat different picture of the extent of the world, a picture with which many Carajá are now familiar. It never intrudes into Carajá life. It is reserved solely for discourse with outsiders. No contradiction is felt because the two conceptions are never brought into the same universe of discourse. I was not able to detect any signs of skepticism. The Carajá is perfectly sure that he has a clear view of the true character of the world. The peculiar beliefs of outsiders are in keeping with their quaint behavior and lack of good breeding. A Carajá will not dispute about such things. He listens to the opinions of others with courtesy and curiosity but cannot be induced to take them seriously. It is much easier to pretend to agree. If you are a missionary, you will give him presents. Later he may have the additional pleasure of expounding your fantastic ideas to his fellows.

Two factors seem to me to contribute largely to the maintainance of this attitude. In the first place, the old way of life is still intact. When a man is able to find full occupation and joy in his activities, it is difficult to get him to doubt the premises on which they are founded. Secondly, every important feature of life is validated by mythical tales which are the Carajá history. The emergence myth, given above in its simplest and shortest variant, is one of many. I can do no more than mention some of the most important here. The full form of the emergence myth gives the names of all the ancestors who emerged and the precise social divisions which they